

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Warlords, bureaucrats, local bullies, and worthless village elders are the political representatives of the landlord class. They are the special parasites among the landlords (among kulaks are also found minor bullies and worthless elders).

Agents who help landlords collect rent, depending on the landlords' exploitation of peasants as their chief source of livelihood, and people whose scale of living exceeds that of the average medium peasant should be treated the same as landlords.

Those who depend on exploiting by high interest as their chief source of livelihood, and whose scale of living is higher than that of the average medium peasant, are called usurers. They should be treated the same as landlords.

2. Rich Peasants (Kulaks)

Rich peasants in general own land. There are some who own a portion and rent a portion, and there are also some who rent all their land. These two latter types are few. They all possess superior means of production and fluid capital; they themselves labor but ordinarily they rely on exploitation as a small or large part of their livelihood. The chief form of exploitation by rich peasants is exploiting long-term hired labor. In addition they may rent out some land, lend money, or run a business. The majority of rich peasants still preside over town halls. Often rich Chinese peasants do not hire labor but exploit peasants by means of rent and interest.

3. Medium Peasants

Many medium peasants own land. Some own only a portion and rent another portion; some own no land. All middle peasants have a modicum of tools. Medium peasants depend entirely or mostly upon their own labor for a living. Medium peasants as a rule do not exploit and many are themselves exploited in a small measure through land rent or interest. As a rule, medium peasants do not sell their labor. Another group of medium peasants (medium-plus) may exploit others slightly, but not as an ordinary or principal thing.

4. Poor Peasants

Some poor peasants own a portion of land and an incomplete set of implements. Some own no land at all, only an incomplete set of tools. All of them need to rent land for cultivation; and suffer rental, interest, and a small measure of labor exploitation.

As a rule, medium peasants do not need to sell their labor; poor peasants need to sell a small part of their labor. This is the chief criterion distinguishing medium and poor peasants.

5. Laborers (including hired laborers)

Laborers have neither land nor implements. Some few have a very small portion of each, and make their living entirely or in large part by selling their labor.

B. Decisions on Some Land-Conflict Problems

Many problems have arisen in connection with conflicts over dividing and investigating land. These problems either have not been settled in previous documents with sufficient clarity, or else interpretation by government and party workers has not been accurate. As a result, many mistakes have been made in execution. The People's Committee, in order to solve properly the land conflicts and to correct or prevent errors in connection with these problems, makes the following decisions in addition to publishing "How to Delineate Classes.

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

1. Laborers and Fractional Laborers

Under ordinary conditions, if there is one person in the whole family who engages in primary labor for one third of each year, the family is called laboring. If the time does not equal one third of a year, or is not spent on primary labor, it is called fractional laboring.

Comment

(1) The chief difference between landlords and kulaks is that kulaks labor themselves and landlords do not, or very little.

(2) One person is used for determining a family as laboring. It is an error to think that only if two or more labor the family is counted as laboring.

(3) The time standard is one third of the year, or 4 months. This period or less makes the dividing line between full and fractional laboring (between kulaks and landlords). Some make it 6 months; this is error.

(4) Primary labor means work primarily for production, such as planting, reaping, etc. and is not farm work alone; it may be cutting firewood, carrying loads, practicing medicine, teaching, etc.

(5) Nonprimary labor denotes supplementary work occupying a secondary place in production; such as help in gardening or in care of cattle.

(6) Since labor is the mark of difference between landlord and kulak, one who merely employs and directs farm laborers but does not exploit by rent and interest, and does not labor himself, is still to be treated as a landlord.

(7) In establishing the criterion for landlord status, time is reckoned from the setting up of the revolutionary authority. If, reckoning back, a person has lived as landlord for a full 3 years, he has a landlord status.

Problems regarding labor and fractional labor have given rise to errors in assigning status. From now on, such problems should decrease. The phrase "under ordinary conditions" refers to the current run of events; but extraordinary conditions arise in which varying permutations and combinations call for rare skill in fitting intricate definitions to actual cases.

2. Medium-plus Peasants

These are a segment of medium peasants whose scale of living is above the average; they exploit others slightly. The proportion of their income that comes from exploiting does not exceed 15 percent of the whole family income for the year. In some circumstances, if the proportional is more than 15 but not more than 30 percent, one may still be counted as a medium-plus peasant provided the masses do not object. Under the democratic government the rights of medium-plus peasants should be protected just as those of the medium.

Comment

(1) Medium-plus are a segment of medium; they are marked by a higher scale of living; they exploit slightly, the others do not.

(2) The difference between medium-plus and rich peasants lies in the fact that former get not more than 15 percent from exploiting, while rich peasants exceed this figure. These limits must be set in the actual business of class demarcation.

- 3 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

(3) Slight exploitation by medium-plus peasants includes hiring of herd boys, temporary laborers, making small loans or various small transactions that bring in profits; all of which account for not more than 15 percent of the family income.

(4) In periods near the revolutionary take-over, if the scale of exploitation has been on a par with that of the kulaks, but for a period of not more than 2 years, such persons may still be called medium-plus peasants.

(5) The phrase "in some circumstances" indicates extraordinary times when emergency factors caused increased burdens. Those who do not exceed 30 percent in exploiting are called medium-plus not rich. This rule does not apply in ordinary times, and decision of the cases is left to local mass opinion.

In villages where there are numerous medium-plus peasants, many are rated as kulaks. This must be corrected.

3. Duration and Extent of Exploitation by Rich Peasants

Those who for 3 years prior to the take-over relied in a small or large part on exploitation in addition to their labor, and if said exploitation exceeded 15 percent of the entire annual family income, are called rich peasants. In some circumstances, if the figure is more than 15 but not over 30, they are not rich peasants but medium-plus, provided the masses do not object.

Comment

(1) Use the date of take-over, and no other date, as the point of reference for computing the period of exploiting. Some persons go back over a long period in the past to settle old accounts for exploiting and to determine status; this is not right.

(2) Use 3 years of consecutive exploiting as the period for fixing the status of a rich peasant. He is to be counted a medium-plus peasant, if the period of exploitation is not a full 3 years, or if there are intervals (not consecutive) although the amount of exploiting has been the same as that of a rich peasant for the same period.

(3) The amount of exploitation must be more than 15 percent of the entire family annual income before one is classified as a rich peasant. He is not a rich peasant but remains a medium-plus if it is less than that, although the exploiting may have continued for 3 consecutive years or longer.

(4) The entire family income is the sum of what is gained through labor and by exploitation. For instance, if a family gets 400 dollars (yuan) a year by production, and 100 by exploitation, the total is 500. The percentage of exploitation is 20 percent, therefore the head of the family is a rich peasant.

(5) The phrase "in some circumstances" indicates a large number in the home, or paucity of strength for labor so that livelihood becomes difficult. In such cases, with an exploitation range of 15-30 percent, provided the masses do not object, he can still be classified as a medium-plus peasant. Here the opinion of the populace is very important and assessing must be done carefully. A medium-plus peasant should not be pushed into kulak status lest the masses be dissatisfied. By the same token, kulaks must not be rated as medium-plus lest the poor peasants be displeased. Therefore, assessing must be done carefully to gain popular approval.

Heretofore in land movements, these considerations of time and amount have ignited many disputes through lack of a clear standard for differentiating between rich and medium-plus peasants. Treating those of one category as belonging to the other gives rise to errors. Now with the standards fixed, these faults may be avoided.

- 4 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

4. Reactionary Kulaks

Before the revolution, and especially since, there have been rich peasants who strongly opposed it. They are called reactionary kulaks. The land and property of these kulaks and those of their families who have taken part in this antirevolutionary activity should be confiscated. The same principle shall hold for reactionary capitalists.

Comment.

(1) A kulak innocent guilty of "strongly opposed activity," to be called a reactionary kulak. Obstinate resistance to our revolutionary movement, organizing resistance groups, murdering, spying, guiding nationalist troops, fleeing to Nationalist territory to help the KMT, resolutely blocking the land movements, and economic reconstruction illustrate what is meant. Kulaks who, while antirevolutionary, have not been active in opposition shall not be deprived of their property.

(2) In a reactionary kulak's family, confiscate only the goods of those who are actively antirevolutionary.

(3) Those who fled to KMT territory temporarily for livelihood are not reactionary kulaks and should not be treated as such.

(4) The foregoing statements of definition and treatment fully apply to reactionary capitalists.

Heretofore in many places kulaks or members of their families, not guilty of serious antirevolutionary activity have been deprived of goods, this is wrong. The cause of this error is found in Section 3 of the Kiangsi regulations which reads: "All rich peasants who enter antirevolutionary organizations shall, along with the entire family, be deprived of their goods." Here no distinction is made between leaders and followers, participants and non-participants. With regard to the family, while the latter portion reads, "Members of the family who do not enter antirevolutionary organizations, who engage in such activity, and who dissociate themselves from antirevolutionary forces, may have their land returned provided the local populace does not object." Since the first portion calls for confiscation, and the latter provides for exceptions. This section should be revised to fit the present rules. The circle of reactionary capitalists has been enlarged to include innocent shops for confiscation; this is also wrong.

NOTE: This rule applies to landlords and other criminals.

5. Property of Rich Peasants

What a rich peasant should have in the way of land, houses, animals, and tools is defined. A rich peasant may control such property as he pleases with no interference from others provided he obeys government laws.

Comment

(1) Recently there have been cases of poor people exchanging their property for that of rich peasants, even clothing and fertilizer; this is wrong.

(2) If, when the land question has been properly settled, the land which a kulak retains is subsequently improved, others may not demand it in exchange. The cattle, tools, and houses which a kulak subsequently adds, though surplus, may not again be confiscated or exchanged.

NOTE: The above also applies to landlords.

- 5 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

6. Bankrupt Landlords

Landlords who before the revolution had lost all or most of their land and property but still did not labor, relying on deceiving and filching, or charity, as their chief source of livelihood, but whose scale of living is above that of the average medium peasant, are called bankrupt landlords. They are still a part of the landlord class.

However, those landlords who after going bankrupt depend on their own exertions for part of their living, and this part amounts to one third of their annual expenditure, may be treated as having kulak status.

Comment

(1) Some partially bankrupt landlords are called bankrupt landlords; this is wrong. Since such landlords have some property left, which they exploit; the change is merely one of amount received from exploitation.

(2) Some call those who have become bankrupt and have been doing primary labor for fully a year, bankrupt landlords; this is even more wrong. After a landlord has become bankrupt and has been doing primary labor for a full year, i.e., before the revolution, he is already transformed from a landlord into a laborer, a poor person, or a peasant.

(3) Some still treat as landlords those landlords who have gone bankrupt and have begun partial labor; this is wrong. Those whose work already provides one third of the family's annual livelihood should be given the status of kulaks.

7. Poor People

Besides laborers and peasants, all those who depend on their own exertions for a living, or largely so, or rely on a little capital which they employ for a livelihood, are called poor people. The unemployed in villages and small towns should be given land.

Comment

(1) The poor comprise quite a large section of the cities, and also are found in the towns and country. Their occupations are varied and some are seasonal; their livelihood is precarious.

(2) Besides laborers and peasants, there are independent producers, in free vocations, peddlers, small shopkeepers who have no employees, etc., to be counted in the ranks of the poor. Independent producers are those who make and sell on a small scale sometimes employing a little help. Those in free vocations means all nonexploiting physicians, teachers, lawyers, reporters. These sometimes employ helpers to forward their own work but cannot be considered as exploiters.

8. Intellectuals

Intellectuals should not be thought of as constituting a class. Their birth status should be determined by that of their family; their personal status by the chief source of their income.

All intellectuals from landlord and bourgeois homes, provided they obey the laws of the democratic government, should be used in the service of that government and at the same time taught to overcome the mistaken thinking of other properties persons.

Intellectuals who in their work do not exploit others, such as teachers, editors, authors, etc., are brainworkers. They should be protected by the democratic government.

- 6 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

Comment

(1) Recently some places have banned intellectuals; this is not right. To recruit intellectuals born into the property class to work in the service of the democratic government benefits the policy of the people's revolution. They should be freed from livelihood cares while engaged in such service.

(2) The birth status of an intellectual is determined by the status of his family; it is hereditary. His personal status is determined by his principal source of income. If he lives as a landlord he is a landlord, etc. If he relies chiefly on his family for a living, he takes the family's status. Intellectuals must not be made into a separate class.

9. Propertyless Migrants

Laborers, peasants, and other folk so oppressed and exploited by landlords and bourgeois before the revolutions, that they lost their occupation and land, who for 3 full years have gained most of their living in illegitimate ways are called propertyless migrants.

The democratic government's policy towards such persons is to reclaim them, preventing their leaning on the exploiters and becoming active anti-revolutionists. The chief way of reclaiming them is to get them back into production, assigning them land and work. Those who get land should be village dwellers or persons who can themselves farm.

Comment

(1) The phrase "illegitimate ways" denotes stealing, robbing, deceiving, begging, gambling, prostitution, and other improper occupations. Some persons characterize as migrants all who did such things in partial way; this is not right. To class as migrants all laborers, peasants, and poor people who in the past have been tainted with similar evil doings is still more wrong.

(2) In some places leaders among propertyless migrants who have actively joined the revolution (so-called ringleaders) not only have not been punished, they have been given shares of land. This is wrong. In some places, all propertyless migrants who have asked a share in the land have been denied; this too is wrong.

10. Religious Workers

All who receive most of their livelihood as pastors, priests (Roman Catholic, Buddhist, Taoist), vegetarians, geomancers, fortunetellers, and others of similar religious and superstitious occupations, are called religious workers.

11. Persons of Landlord-Kulak Extraction Among Red Army Soldiers and Their Land

Such persons, on condition of fighting in behalf of laborers and peasants, whether officers or soldiers, individuals or their families, have a right to share in land division.

Comment

(1) Section 1 of the regulations regarding preferential treatment for army veterans gives such persons and their families equal treatment with poor peasants in land division. In some places, recently, there has been query only as to social origin, not as to political affiliation; and the land which had been apportioned to those of landlord-kulak extraction who had fought earnestly in behalf of laborers and peasants was confiscated. This was wrong.

- 7 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

CONFIDENTIAL**CONFIDENTIAL**

(2) "Families of Red Army veterans" means father, mother, daughter, and younger brothers and sisters under 16; no others are included.

12. Laborers Whose Families Were Landlord or Kulak

Such persons and their wives are counted as of laborer status; others in their family of origin are to be treated as of landlord or kulak status.

Comment

(1) In landlord and kulak families those who had sold their labor for a year should be recognized as of the labor status. Such a one and his wife should be so treated.

(2) Rural laborers, individual producers, primary teachers, physicians, etc., who have a small plot of ground, but go away to earn a living and rent out their land, which is not the chief source of their income, should get some land and be classed as landlords.

13. Class Status of Landlords, Kulaks, Capitalists, After Marriage With Laborers, Peasants, Poor People

a. Such status differs according to whether the marriage took place before or after the revolution, according to original status, and according to livelihood conditions after the marriage.

b. Marriages contracted before the revolution: Girls of landlord, kulak, capitalist homes married to laborers, peasants, poor people who have for a year relied on labor chiefly for a living, shall be recognized as of laborer, peasant, or poor person status. Those who do not labor, or who do not do it for a full year, remain in their original status. Girls of laboring, peasant, or poor people's homes who marry landlords, kulaks, or capitalists, and who keep the same mode of life for 5 full years, are recognized as of landlord, kulak or capitalist status. If their mode of life is not the same as that of landlord, kulak, or capitalist, but the same as that of laborer, peasant, or poor people (that is relying chiefly on personal labor as chief means of livelihood) or of the same grade for less than 5 years, the original status holds.

c. Marriages contracted after the revolution: Girls of poor homes marrying into rich homes do not change status; those of rich homes marrying into poor should labor, and those who do so for 5 years shall be counted as of laborer, peasant, or poor person status. Those failing to do so shall retain original status.

d. Children of a marriage, no matter when contracted, or in what status, shall have the status of the father.

e. Children bought or brought into a family for marriage before the revolution shall have their status settled according to points 1-4 above.

f. Somewhat similar rules apply in case of adoption of children.

Comment: Labor as here used includes home work.

14. Landlords and Kulaks Concurrently Carrying on Business

a. Landlords concurrently in business shall have their land and buildings connected therewith confiscated, but not the land, buildings, and equipment of the business.

b. Kulaks concurrently in business shall have their land and buildings connected therewith treated as those of kulaks; and those of the business as those of businessmen.

- 8 -

CONFIDENTIAL**CONFIDENTIAL**

50X1-HUM

CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

15. Managers of Public Halls

Managing a public hall is an act of exploitation; it is a distribution of land to be made between management by landlord, kulak, or capitalist, and by laborer, peasant, and poor person.

Comment

Managing the land and property of a clan, temple, union, or society is called managing a public hall. Managing a public hall is undoubtedly a form of feudal exploitation, especially when one of the landlord or kulak class used the public hall to amass a large amount of land and property. Then it becomes a principal form of exploitation. All management activity that permits such control by a few is of course a factor in building up a ruler class. But some small public halls, managed in turn by members of the poorer classes with very little exploitation, can hardly be factors in building up a ruler class. Some think that having managed a public hall makes one a landlord, kulak, or capitalist; that is wrong.

16. The Livelihood Problem of Government Workers

Workers in democratic government and other revolutionary agencies, who got no land and are having a hard time, may be given a suitable share or relieved in some other way.

Comment

Those who were given land have a government order for the masses to cultivate it for them. Here we speak only of those who got none.

17. Land for Public Use

In dividing land in new areas, or redividing in old, some land must be reserved for bridges, ferries, tea pavilions, and other public use.

Comment

For repair and maintenance of such facilities, a certain amount of communal land should be set aside, and the masses should be encouraged to cultivate it.

18. The Problem of Debts

a. Both principal and interest of all moneys and goods loaned before the revolution by landlords and kulaks to laborers, peasants, or poor people, except accounts for goods in shops, are canceled. All moneys and goods deposited by the latter with the former shall be returned.

b. Those who rely on usury as their principal means of living, and whose scale of living exceeds that of medium peasants, are called usurers, and they shall be treated as landlords.

c. Debts made after the revolution, that do not contravene regulations of the central democratic government of China shall be repaid.

Comment

(1) In all past and present KMT territories, urban and rural, the majority of debts are subject to usury rates. But those who do not rely on usury as their main source of income, and cannot be called usurers, should be dealt with according to their status. To say that all who get usury are usurers is incorrect.

- 9 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

CONFIDENTIAL

(2) Those who lend, and at the same time, those who are set against each other, and their status as regards the net result.

(3) The reason that shop accounts must be arranged is that the shop is not injured, and because shop accounts do not seem to be the result of loans.

(4) Accounts between members of the poorer classes should be arranged by mutual consent; and if that is not reached, they should be decided by the local democratic government.

- E N D -

- 10 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL